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VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

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THE ULSTER GAME

MASTER ASQUITH and MASTER REDMOND (horrified): "Look here! Don't ask that girl to play. She'll spoil the game!"

MASTER EDWARD CARSON: "She'll spoil it much more if we don't let her play."

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DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

THE OUTLOOK

With the close of the holidays the work for the autumn has begun in real earnest in all the suffrage camps, and work for this particular autumn means the commencement of work for the year which provides the last chance of securing votes for women during the present Parliament.

Commencement of the Parliamentary Year

Every politician knows that when there is no autumn sitting, preparations for the following session begin directly the summer is over; it is then that Cabinet Ministers prepare their programme, it is then that the principal Bills are drafted, it is then that members of the Government and ordinary M.P.'s seek their constituencies and come into contact with the feeling of the electorate. Suffragists must therefore be up and doing if they are to win the day.

The Session of 1914

The session which lies in front of us is no ordinary session. Not only is it in all probability the last before the dissolution, but it is also the one in which the Parliament Act is expected to come into operation to secure the passage of the Welsh Disestablishment and Home Rule Bills. Moreover, the prospect of the future of Ireland is causing grave concern to all the more serious-minded of the public men and women to-day. It is into this complex political situation that women have to force the consideration of woman suffrage, if they are not prepared to submit to postponement for several years.

[illegible] of the Electors

We believe that the principle of the extension of the franchise to duly qualified women commands, at the present day, almost universal assent, but that some plain speaking by electors is necessary to bring this fact home to [illegible] members of the House of Commons. Many Liberals are shocked at the negation of Liberal principles shown by Mr. Asquith in this matter, and at the disingenuous tactics of Mr. Lloyd George; if they would take their courage in both hands and tell these ministers plainly that there must be no more trifling on the question, but that a Votes for Women Bill must be placed on the statute book during 1914, we believe that all obstacles would melt away.

Ulster and Woman Suffrage

During the past week a decision has been taken by the Unionist party in Ulster which is of the utmost importance to woman suffragists. The Ulster Unionist Council, which has in hand the formation of an Ulster Provisional Government, in the event of the passing into law of the Home Rule Bill, has decided to include women among the electorate on the basis of the existing register for local government purposes. This important announcement was made in the form of a letter from the secretary of the Ulster Unionist Council to the Ulster Women's Unionist Association, which was published in the Press on Friday last. The letter, which we give in full on page 723, proceeded to announce proposals for the immediate co-option of women on to committees.

Congratulations to All Concerned

Previous to this announcement the W.S.P.U. had already raised this issue in a letter to Sir Edward

Carson inviting him to receive a deputation from them, and it may well be that this fact was instrumental in procuring a discussion in the Council and the favourable result. The news would, in the natural course, be communicated first to the Unionist women of Ulster. In any case, we congratulate all concerned in the ultimate decision, which we regard as of great value in the fight for the vote. Sir Edward Carson has never declared himself a suffragist. Rightly or wrongly he has been supposed to be long to the anti-suffrage group on the Opposition Front Bench. But faced with a definite situation which demands action, the logic and necessity of the case have been too much for him.

More Just than Mr. Asquith

By conferring upon women, whose help he accepts, the same status that men are to occupy under the proposed Provisional Government, he has proved himself to be more just, more logical, and more honest a man than are his protagonists, Mr. Redmond and Mr. Asquith. It was admittedly the Liberal women who kept the Liberal flag flying in the dark days of Liberalism that preceded the year 1906. As for the Irish Nationalist women, they have been the backbone of the Home Rule agitation. Not only in the crisis that followed on the imprisonment of Mr. Parnell and the members of the Land League, did they play an important part. Thousands of them have devoted their means, time, and service to the campaign, while the money sent back to the old folks from Irish servants in Canada and the United States, has done much to keep the country going during its troublous times. Thankful enough to accept the sacrifices and services of women in their period of weakness and struggle, the Liberal party, at the instigation of Mr. Asquith, and the Irish party, at the insistence of Mr. Redmond, have, in the period of their prosperity, meanly repudiated their debt.

The Old Mistake of Women

The Irish women, speaking generally, and the Liberal women also, have perpetrated the old disastrous mistake of women. Ignorance of men and over-trustfulness have brought them to dishonour. They have had too little self-respect. At no time in the past have they demanded their due as the price of their favours. Thus they have been betrayed and deserted, as women who play such a part have been and will be. But the new generation of women is politically wiser. The militant suffrage movement has taught women their own worth and value. And consequently they have risen in the estimation of men and politicians, who realise that in future they must give honour to women if they would win their allianoe.

A Liberal's Advice to the Government

Yet another development in the Irish situation is of interest to woman suffragists. The political air has been full during the past week of discussion on Lord Loreburn's letter proposing to hold a conference with a view to averting the disastrous civil commotion likely to occur in Ireland on the passage of the Home Rule Bill. Will not some other Liberal statesman be found wise enough to call a halt to the Liberal Cabinet in their policy with regard to women? Irishmen are proverbially easy to rouse, women are known to be the law-abiding sex; yet the illiberal refusal of the Government to recognise the vast constitutional demand of the women for the franchise has already exasperated many women to the point of serious violence, and the continued contemptuous and cruel attitude of the Government is daily driving more and more women into open rebellion.

A Government Bill in Holland

The Dutch Government has tentatively placed woman suffrage on its programme. In the Speech from the Throne at the opening of the States-general last Tuesday, a Bill was foreshadowed which would give adult suffrage to men, and would also remove from the Constitution all obstacles to the enfranchisement of women. Though we cannot interpret this pledge as anything more than a means of paving the way for the possible inclusion of women in the manhood suffrage Bill at a later stage, we warmly congratulate our Dutch sisters on the preliminary step thus taken in their progress towards freedom. From Italy, too, comes news of a Bill to be introduced in the Chamber next November by the Minister of Justice, which will give women the same civil rights as are now enjoyed by Italian men. It appears to be left to the Government of Great Britain utterly to ignore the claims of women, and to introduce only Bills that deal with votes for men.

Equality of Women in Science

The presence among us of Madame Curie is responsible for a vast amount of advice proffered by the Press to those women who have not discovered radium, but are asking for a vote. We cannot refrain from observing that the readiness of certain newspapers to attribute Madame Curie's success partly to the work done by men who preceded her (which has called forth an indignant letter from Mrs. Hertha Ayrton which we print elsewhere), does not encourage women, even if they had the talent, to give up what the *Globe* picturesquely calls "the rant and violence of the misguided militants," for what the *Daily Telegraph* terms the "quiet and sterling work done for humanity" by eminent women in science. Mrs. Ayrton would be a Fellow of the Royal Society to-day if she were not a woman. But for the same disability, Madame Curie would be a member of the French Académie des Sciences. In the face of these facts, it is sheer hypocrisy on the part of the papers we have quoted to seek to dissociate the militant woman's fight for political equality from the woman scientist's fight for intellectual equality.

Mothers and the Insurance Act

In an article on women and the Insurance Act, which will be found on page 727, Mrs Pethick Lawrence points out that "the married women who labour in the home as wives and mothers are practically excluded from the scheme except in so far as the maternity benefit is concerned." We have grave fears that still further limitations may be placed upon the benefits, such as they are, which now accrue to married women under the Act, unless extreme vigilance is exercised by women in the immediate future. It seems that there has been some trouble in the societies arising out of the fact that doctors have in many cases certified insured married women as unfit for work three months prior to the birth of their child. They are thus entitled to 7s. 6d. sick benefit per week for ten or twelve weeks, as well as to the 30s. maternity benefit, which means that the societies have to pay as much as a total of five guineas to women, who in many cases would otherwise be earning only 5s. a week.

A Grave Danger

The Insurance Commissioners have referred the societies in question to the Malingering Committee, whose decision will be of the utmost importance to thousands of poor mothers, many of whose wages do not reach the subsistence level. Meanwhile, some of the officials of the societies seem to have gathered that they would be on safe ground if, pending this decision, they refuse all sick benefit claims made by women on the score of pregnancy alone. We should like to know if this unofficial assumption has any official inspiration, because, if so, and if it in any way foreshadows the ultimate finding of the Committee, it practically means that no woman will be sure of being able to claim sick benefit while she is in that condition. Motherhood will, in fact, be once more penalised. We cannot emphasise too deeply the danger to the rights of working mothers that is here threatened.

Item of Interest

Next week's Votes for Women, which will be on sale during the Church Congress at Southampton, will contain an article by the Rev. Dr. Percy Dearmer, entitled "The English Marriage Service," which has been written especially for that issue.

Attention is directed to the public meeting on Thursday evening, October 16, at 8 p.m., organised by the Votes for Women Fellowship, at which the speakers will be the Bishop of Kensington, Miss Evelyn Sharp, and the editors of this paper, Mr. and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence. Tickets, price 2s. 6d. and 1s., reserved, and 6d. unreserved, can be obtained from the Ticket Secretary, Votes for Women, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

PENAL REFORM*

In the "Penal Reform League" record for the quarter ending July, we find a courageous criticism of the action of the Chief Magistrate, as reported in the *Times* of July 29, in "condoning improper violence on the part of the police." Referring to Sir John Dickinson's remark that "if people had complaints to make about the police they should be made to the proper tribunal," the record continues:—

> This may have been technically correct, though it was hardly encouraging, and we should have thought a conscientious Magistrate might at least have done something to facilitate an inquiry and to show that he disapproved of unnecessary violence on the part of the police, if it had occurred.

and suffragists will agree with this opinion, and with much else in this interesting quarterly record.

From the Penal Reform League we have also received two pamphlets, both being reprints of papers read by Captain Arthur St. John on different occasions. Both of these offer points of great interest to suffragists, especially to those who have been imprisoned for the cause. In the address, "Against Criminality," for instance, Captain St. John says:—

> A very difficult and delicate question is that of how to improve the personnel of the magistracy. The present state of affairs is far from satisfactory. I am afraid the powers that be hardly realise the amount of dissatisfaction that at present exists with regard to our magistracy, both high and low, and the little confidence judges and magistrates inspire. . . . *As things are, the Bench presents a great stumbling block in the path of penal reform.*

The italics are ours.

Suffragists will agree equally with the recommendation taken from the paper on "Prison Régime" proposing—

> . . . the introduction on to the staffs of all prisons of carefully selected gentlewomen as trained nurses and as supervisors of catering, cooking, and serving departments. The governors, doctors, and other high officials of women's prisons should be women. . . . The treatment of criminals should be, not a profession, but a vocation. . . .

These three publications can be altogether thoroughly recommended to suffragists and penal reformers.

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* "The Penal Reform League Quarterly Record." (Price 6d.)
"Against Criminality." By Arthur St. John. (Price 2d.)
"Prison Régime." By Arthur St. John. (Price 2d.)
(All published by the Penal Reform League, 68A, Park Hill Road, N.W.)

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VOTES FOR ULSTER WOMEN

Unionist Council decide in favour of Woman Suffrage for Ulster Provisional Government.

On September 11 Mr. J. M. Hamill, Secretary of the Ulster Women's Unionist Council, received the following letter from Mr. R. Dawson Bates, Secretary of the Ulster Unionist Council—

"Dear Mr. Hamill,—I am authorised to inform you that the draft articles of Provisional Government already approved of by this Council include the franchise for women on the basis of the register for local government purposes. In taking this step the Council are merely following the policy which they have consistently adopted of co-operating with your Council, and which has been at all times heartily reciprocated. In the event of a Nationalist Parliament being forced upon us, it will take a considerable time to hold the necessary elections under the new franchise, and to meet the difficulty that will arise in the meantime through women not being represented upon the Provisional Government it has been decided to propose at the meeting of this Council to be held on the 24th inst. that your Council be invited to submit the names of women willing to act on the various committees which will be on that date established. This insures that those who so heartily supported us in the past will be immediately co-opted, with a view to taking their proper share in the management of the affairs of Ulster whilst we are holding the Province in trust for the British nation, in which matters we fully realise that their interests are as much at stake as those of the men. I am desired to express the hope that this will meet with the approval of your Council, and that, united in a common cause, we may go forward to ultimate and complete victory.—Yours very truly,

R. DAWSON BATES.

The W.S.P.U. and Sir Edward Carson.

Before the above letter was made public it had been announced in the Press that the following letter had been addressed to Sir Edward Carson by Miss Dorothy Evans, organiser for the Women's Social and Political Union in Ulster:—

"Dear Sir,—In view of the fact that you and your supporters upon the passage of the Home Rule Bill propose to take over the government of Ulster, I write on behalf of the Women's Social and Political Union to ask you to receive a deputation as soon as you arrive in Ireland. The object of the deputation is to demand that women shall have the same rights as men under the Ulster Constitution, and in particular that they should have the right to vote. It is hardly necessary for me to point out that in assuming the powers of a Government you become subject to the obligations of a Government. Hitherto we have held the Imperial Government, with Mr. Asquith at its head, wholly and solely responsible for giving votes to women in every part of the kingdom. But now that you are about to constitute a Government for Ulster we look to you to grant the vote to the women of Ulster. You and your colleagues and supporters are forming an Ulster Government, and are preparing for armed rebellion as a protest against being brought under a system of Government to which you do not give your consent. It is on precisely the same principle that the Women's Social and Political Union, the militant suffragist organisation, refuses to submit to government without the consent of women either in Ulster or in any other part of the kingdom. Awaiting your reply informing me at what time and place you can receive our deputation.—Yours, &c.,

"DOROTHY EVANS."

WHAT SUFFRAGISTS THINK ABOUT IT

THE MILITANT VIEW

The Women's Social and Political Union, in a statement to the Press, hails as a great victory the announcement that the draft articles of the Ulster Provisional Government provide that women shall have a vote on the same terms as men in the election of an Ulster Parliament, and that women are to be included on the committees which will manage the affairs of Ulster until such a Parliament is elected.

A Shameful Contrast

The statement goes on to say that the refusal of the present Government and their ally, Mr. John Redmond, to grant votes to women, either in Ireland or any other part of the kingdom, is in shameful contrast to the readiness of the men of Ulster to share their political rights with women, and the Union will henceforth oppose the Government and the Nationalist party with more vigour than ever.

THE MEANING OF THE PROMISE

Mrs. Baker, of the Irish Women's Suffrage Society, sends us the following interesting view of the promise given to the Ulster women:—

"So far as we can gather, this is what has been granted. The municipal register will be used in electing the Provisional Parliament, and, as the qualifications for this are exactly the same for men as for women, they will fulfil the demand of woman suffragists for Parliamentary representation 'on the same terms.'

"Pending an election, women will be co-opted on to all committees who do the work. There will be no supreme council, the final decision being with Sir Edward Carson.

A Valuable Precedent

"We believe the announcement to be straight and above board, but are waiting, somewhat cautiously, before committing ourselves. In the present crisis it is eminently desirable to the Unionist party that further trouble should not complicate the position, and it would, of course, be both illogical and untenable for rebels to fight rebels.

"It is most unlikely that a Provisional Parliament here will meet in May, will, in fact, be anything more than on paper, but the concession is a valuable one, and may be pushed later on for all it is worth, as a precedent."

THE NON-MILITANT VIEW

Miss Dora Mellone, Hon. Secretary of the Northern Committee of the Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation, sends us an interesting communication on the subject, in the course of which she says:—

"From the suffrage point of view, the matter is entirely satisfactory. As suffragists we have, of course, no concern with the question of Home Rule. We have our individual opinions on it, very strong in some cases, but as suffragists we stand outside the domain of party politics. Only, we recognise with satisfaction that for the first time in Ireland a political party has acknowledged that women are citizens."

Miss Mellone goes on to say that, while knowing how hard the Unionist women of Ulster have worked for their cause—"with a single-heartedness and devotion often trying to the ardent suffragist, who would fain convert women to the creed of 'suffrage first'"—and without grudging them any thanks that may come their way for the victory that has been gained, she feels it is only fair, also, to mention what has been done by the non-militant societies in Ireland. Further, she rejects the supposition that the "threatened establishment of the W.S.P.U. branch in Belfast has worked this miracle." What, then, she asks, has done this thing?

Her answer is that the quiet, constitutional work of the Federation has brought about the present situation.

A DEPUTATION TO SIR EDWARD CARSON

A deputation representing eleven Ulster societies of the Irish Women's Suffrage Federation will wait on Sir Edward Carson at Belfast next week to discuss details regarding the enfranchisement of women under the Provisional Government scheme.

PRESS COMMENTS

THE SUFFRAGETTE TRUMPET

The Ulster "Provisional" Government has capitulated on the first toot of the Suffragette trumpet. To-day, in answer to the W.S.P.U. appeal to Sir Edward Carson, it is officially announced not only that women will have votes in Ulster, but that they will be represented on the various "committees" which will meanwhile carry on the work of "provisional" government. . . . Mr. Bates concludes with the expression of a hope that these arrangements will be satisfactory to the women's association. What he means presumably is that he hopes they will avert the threatened "suffragette" campaign in connection with Sir Edward Carson's forthcoming demonstrations.—**Correspondent of the "Daily Citizen."**

AMUSING CELERITY

The letter of Miss Dorothy Evans, of the Women's Social and Political Union, to Sir Edward Carson yesterday, asking him to meet a deputation for the purpose of demanding the vote for women has been answered to-day with amusing celerity. . . . One of the principal militant suffragists informed me this evening that the decision of the Unionists was a magnificent victory for the women, since the local government register gave them all they wanted in the way of voting power. It was, she added, a fortunate circumstance for Sir Edward Carson and the Unionists that the concession had been granted, for had it been refused the women would have carried out a plan of campaign which would have reduced the coming Carson tour to a farce. — **Correspondent of the "Manchester Guardian."**

WOMEN IN SCIENCE

A PROTEST BY MRS. AYRTON

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—I see that it has been suggested in certain newspapers that Madame Curie discovered radium "under the influence of Monsieur Becquerel." The implication that Madame Curie, being a woman, could not make a great discovery except under the influence of some man, however flattering to masculine vanity, is so far from the truth that I hope you will allow me to state the real facts of the case. They are these.

Madame Curie had to choose a subject for her thesis for the degree of Docteur ès Sciences not long after Monsieur Becquerel had made his discovery of the radio-active powers of the metal uranium. Having been interested in Becquerel's discovery, she chose the subject of radio-activity for her thesis, and carried out the brilliant series of experiments that led her to the discovery of radium.

Monsieur Becquerel was an acquaintance, no more, so that she naturally neither consulted him nor had any communication with him about her work.

In fact, Madame Curie discovered radium under the influence of Monsieur Becquerel just as much and just as little as Newton discovered the laws of gravitation under the influence of Kepler. They each used certain knowledge gained by their predecessors as the starting point of their own much greater researches.—Yours, &c.,

HERTHA AYRTON.

41, Norfolk Square, Hyde Park, W.

WOMEN AT THE BRITISH ASSOCIATION

This year's meeting of the British Association has been remarkable for the presence of notable women scientists, and for the prominence given to the work and the researches of women. The *Daily Mail* observes that "it is remarkable how large a place the sex question occupies in this year's meeting"; and the *Daily Telegraph*, in its leading article on September 13, remarks that "It is pleasant to turn from the tumult of the militant Suffragists to the British Association for evidence of quiet but sterling work done by women for humanity in directions wholly unconnected with the hustings. In the laboratory women appear to be developing an ability which would have astonished their forebears more than the excesses of their sisters elsewhere."

"The Greatest Woman Scientist of All Time"

We reproduce on this page a picture of the ceremony at Birmingham University, on Thursday in last week, when Madame Curie was the only woman to receive the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws, which was also conferred on four other foreign visitors. The *Times* says: "When in presenting her Sir Oliver Lodge declared that she was the greatest woman scientist of all time, there was an immediate response on the part of the spectators, who endorsed his dictum by enthusiastic cheers."

"A Great Innovation"

Miss Ethel Sargant, the first woman ever appointed to preside over a Section at the British Association, prefaced her presidential address by saying: "Section K (Botany) has made a great innovation in choosing a woman for its president this year, and I will not refrain from thanking you in the name of my sex because I happen to be the woman chosen. And, though I must and do feel very keenly the honour you have done me as a botanist, yet that feeling is less prominent than gratitude for the generosity shown to all women in that choice. Speaking in their name, I may venture to say that the highest form of generosity is that which dares to do an act of justice in the face of custom and prejudice."

"Radiates Capability"

"Miss Sargant radiates capability," says the *London Budget*. "An audience under the sway of her presiding genius invariably feels itself in the strong hands of a businesslike personality." All the papers comment on her excellent delivery of an able paper.

The "Herald's" Way

Alone among the papers which have remarked upon Miss Sargant's admirable fulfilment of her presidency, the *Daily Herald*, in its cheery, humorous way, draws the real moral from her success.

"It is very distressing to hear," it says, "that a lady, who, of course, ought to be engaged in some homely duties, has been made president of one of the sections of the British Association meeting. Really, our great scientists have lost their heads in allowing this sort of thing to happen. If a mere woman is allowed to preside over gatherings of learned scientists, she will be claiming next that she has enough brain power to vote on the rather trivial questions which the members of Parliament are always squabbling about. Indeed, there will be no end to the trouble if the precedent of the British Association be followed."

(With acknowledgments to the "Daily Sketch.")

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NEW FICTION

THE EIGHTH YEAR OF MARRIED LIFE

How many have passed the "Eighth Year"* without knowing of its dangers! Yet it is a terrible year, according to Mr. Philip Gibbs and Lord St. Helier, a year of monstrous portent, when the married woman is almost bound from sheer boredom to fly to the arms of a new lover, and thence to the divorce court; or to be seized with religious mania; or, from lack of babies, to become a Suffragette. But women have been known to do any of these things even in the first, second, or ninth year of marriage, and we do not think that Mr. Gibbs has proved his case for this particular year. Still, one year will do as well as another, and this very brightly written tract—for it is frankly a tract, illustrated by a story—is both interesting and amusing. We like the "Argument" better than the "Demonstration," although the latter would perhaps make a popular sentimental play. But are "Intellectual Mansions" inhabited by men and women so vapid and selfish as the hero and heroine of this book? Are there any middle-class husbands who expect their wives to look after their bootlaces? And do people of that class keep servants like Mollie? Both Clara and her ill-tempered husband seem to us to belong to a type that has passed. Still, given the types, the analysis of their growing boredom and despair is cleverly done in the "Argument," and in the "Demonstration" things are relieved by the cheery intervention of a militant Suffragist and by some laughable dialogue. The conclusion seems to us to point to an entirely wrong view of parenthood. That two narrow-minded, quarrelsome people, who do not want to have children, should suddenly become delighted with each other when they find, to their surprise, that there is to be a child, does not seem a very pleasant situation or one full of much hope as to the disposition of the future citizen.

THE SPIRIT OF THE TIMES

"So it is with the Damsel"† is a story in which the heroine is the victim of the White Slave Traffic. It brings to public notice some of the means by which girls are decoyed from their homes, means which ignorance alone makes possible; it also points out that folly, vanity, the desire for amusement and a good time, are potent agents in the bringing about of perilous positions. But the point of the story, its merit and its chief significance, lie in the fact that the fall of the heroine, brought about not with, but against, her will, does not compass her undoing. She escapes from the Argentine, whither she has been taken, and, refusing to look upon herself as ruined by a fate she was powerless to prevent, makes a new life for herself, marries and uses her success, her position, and her experience to help others to rise as she has risen. Twenty years ago, a woman who had lost her physical chastity could never in fiction—or, save by deceit, in fact—have achieved respectability; twenty years ago no hero would have accepted as pure the victim of circumstances such as are in this book described. To-day, slowly but certainly, the pressure of the woman's movement is changing ideas and standards, and Miss Nora Vynne illustrates in her interesting story the rising spirit of the times.

A SUMMER NOVEL

In "Averno"§ Mr. Mitford gives us an interesting light novel, with several good adventures and fine descriptions of scenery, both of the English countryside and of the African veldt. He appears rather specially fond of the hero, Philip Averno, a keen sportsman, and, on the whole, an interesting character. Averno seems to be able to do no wrong, even when he to all intents and purposes breaks off his engagement in a fit of pride, the consequence of being kept waiting by his *fiancée*.

The story opens with a scene at an out-door political meeting which a girl and her aunt interrupt with cries of "Votes for Women," which causes much uproar, and the two are only rescued from a nasty situation by the aid of the hero. It strikes one that the elderly suffragist, the aunt, is painted in rather unfavourable colours; she is pictured as dragging in the subject of suffrage at every odd minute in quite an un-suffragist way, and altogether is depicted as rather more of a bore than was probably the case.

Mrs. Enscombe is another woman on whose bad points the author comments, but neither her husband nor any of the male characters, of course, barring the great black Kaffir and his brethren, seem to possess any weaknesses at all.

Still, in spite of these minor deficiencies, "Averno" is a good book which holds the reader's interest.

BOOKS RECEIVED

"Love and Lovers." By Orme Balfour. (London: T. Werner Laurie. Price 3s. 6d. net.)

"The Racial Curse." By Frances Swiney. (London: The League of Isis. Price 6d.)

* "The Eighth Year. A Vital Problem of Married Life." By Philip Gibbs. (London: Williams and Norgate. Price 2s. net.)

† "So it is with the Damsel." By Nora Vynne. (Stanley Paul and Co. 6s. net.)

§ "Averno." By Bertram Mitford. (London: Ward, Lock and Co., Ltd. Price 6s.)

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BOOKS ABOUT WOMEN

A FRENCHMAN'S VIEW

The prolific and versatile pen of Monsieur Jean Finot is never at a loss, whatever subject it may take in hand.* Jean Finot never fears to face courageously baffling problems of the day, trying to see and place them in their right perspective. In the "Problem of the Sexes," as might be expected of the man who wrote the "Prejudice of Races," the subject is surveyed from every aspect, and treated with the breadth of outlook one is accustomed to associate with this writer's work. In going over much trodden ground he has a refreshing manner of dealing with established facts, and often original ideas to suggest in place of threadbare platitudes.

Tracing woman's life through the ages, he finds her first humiliated and slandered, then curbed and restrained, always having to prove herself ten times better than the man before her work can receive the value due to it, till he finally brings us to the birth of the new woman:—

> The twentieth century will be the century of woman, as the eighteenth and nineteenth were especially those of the "Rights of Man."

It is impossible to raise barriers against the mighty force which is coming from all the four winds of heaven, sometimes in one form, sometimes in another, but always with the same underlying motive, the full, free emancipation of woman—body, mind, and soul.

A period of unrest and change generally has its own peculiar accompanying features; this fact as regards the movement under discussion Monsieur Finot views in an interesting manner. Along with the increasing emancipation of womanhood goes the distressing factor of their undoubted exploitation and underpayment in the Labour Market. More and more women remain unmarried, and more and more go out yearly to earn their daily bread. Under the present conditions they are bound to be taken advantage of; but the author thinks the very fact of their exploitation will bring about its own remedy, and that woman is gaining in energy what she has lost in resignation. The limit of her requirements must end in reaching the limit of the rights of man; these requirements must be fulfilled in the interests of both sexes, as this is the only price of their harmonious development. Thus expressed, we find some explanation of present-day phenomena, held by the many to have no remedy save the return of womanhood to her bondage. Man has gone on changing himself, but fiercely resents the consequent change in her who bears him company and is but a human being like himself.

M. Finot has great hopes for that which the complete emancipation of woman will bring about, one of them being no less than the peace of nations itself. The right state of harmony between the sexes will mean a more complete state of harmony the world over, and who will dare to contradict the germ of truth conveyed in this idea?

Amongst the mass of literature published in these days on the eternal Feminine, this is a welcome addition. Thanks and congratulations are due to this gifted Frenchman for the forging of a weapon so suitable to wield on behalf of the sex struggling so bravely for its complete emancipation.

K. D. S.

THE OLD, OLD STORY

Mr. Mackmurdo writes on Profit Sharing and on Electoral Reform.† He devotes a separate article to Female Suffrage, which, in his view, stands separate from electoral reform, as, according to him, electoral reform and the granting of political rights to women are adverse propositions. Hence he is eager to assure his readers that women are far better off without the vote, while it is apparent that he is under the influence of a horrid dread lest they should get it; his article on the subject might indeed be described as platitudes touched with panic. Platitudes, not arguments; for, as arguments, the bottom has been knocked out of the views he advances over and over again. He reiterates them because, he says, there are many men who believe female suffrage to be an unwise thing, but "frankly confess their inability to give good reason for this belief"; and he hopes that, after reading what he has to say, there may not be quite so many in this condition. We doubt it. Reiteration is, undeniably, an effective factor in advertisement; it has no influence upon the reasoning faculty. And that is the faculty that is called upon in considering this question. We would ask Mr. Mackmurdo to apply it, instead of floundering about in fallacies which have been constantly exploded. It would take up too much space to answer his questions and statements one by one, but he can find the answers to them in the earlier text-books written on the subject.

G.

* "Problems of the Sexes." By Jean Finot; translated from the French by Mary J. Safford. (London: David Nutt. Price 12s. 6d. net.)

† "Pressing Questions, Profit-sharing, Women's Suffrage, Electoral Reform." By A. H. Mackmurdo. (London: John Lane. Price 3s. 6d. net.)

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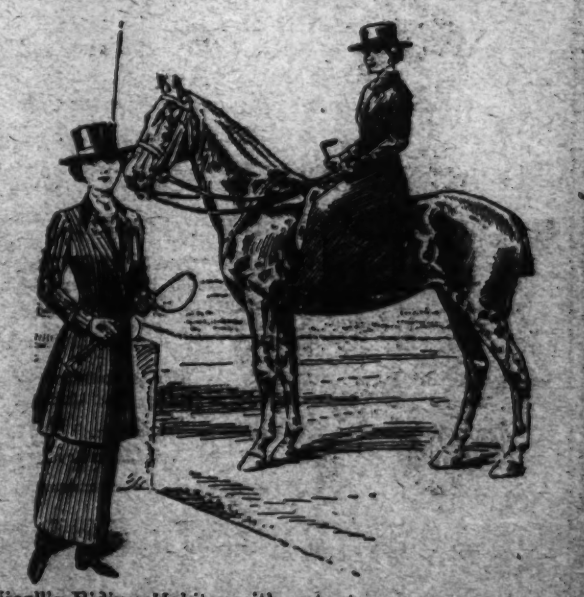

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on SEPTEMBER 24th, 1913.

Speakers:—**Mr. LAURENCE HOUSMAN** (on "The 'Rights' of Majorities").
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VOTES FOR WOMEN FELLOWSHIP

—A—

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Chair: **MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE.**

***Speakers:* The Rt. Rev. Bishop of Kensington, Miss Evelyn Sharp, Mr. F. W. Pethick Lawrence.**

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FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 19, 1913.

ULSTER GIVES WOMEN VOTES

The decision of the Ulster Unionist Council to include women in the electorate for the "provisional government for Ulster" is the most significant event which has occurred in the votes for women agitation since the Speaker's ruling of January last and the subsequent abandonment by Mr. Asquith of any attempt to fulfil the pledges which he had given to women. It marks a new departure in the political situation, and is fraught with important consequences for the future.

The Ulster Unionist Council, as most of our readers are aware, is the body which, under the leadership of Sir Edward Carson, is offering the most strenuous opposition to the passage of the Irish Home Rule Bill, and which has announced its intention, in the event of the Bill being carried, of defying its provisions, and of securing the election of a separate "provisional government for Ulster," which shall manage the affairs of the province and "hold it in trust for the British nation."

With the rights and wrongs of the Irish question as a whole, and the merits of the present Home Rule Bill, we, in this paper, have nothing to do; nor are these matters the concern in any way of any of the woman suffrage societies which are comprised of women drawn from all political parties, meeting together upon the sole basis of the rights of women to exercise the parliamentary franchise. But what is essentially the concern of ourselves, and of the suffrage societies, is to insist that whatever form of government prevails in any part of the British Isles women shall not be debarred from taking their share in it solely on the ground of sex. As to the particular case of Ireland, if it is to be governed, as at present, by the Imperial Parliament alone, then our claim will be met if women share with men in the election of that Parliament; if it is to be governed, as provided for under the Home Rule Bill, partly by an Irish Parliament sitting in Dublin, and partly by the Imperial Parliament, then our claim is that for both these Parliaments women shall be included in the electorate; if Ulster is to be governed by an independent body elected in Ulster, then we claim that in that body also women must be represented.

So far as the third alternative is concerned we have now a definite assurance that, if it eventuates at all, women will share equally with men. In a letter to the Ulster Women's Unionist Association, published in the Press on Friday last, the secretary of the Ulster Unionist Council wrote: "I am authorised to inform you that the draft articles of the provisional government for Ulster already approved of by this Council include the franchise for women on the basis of the register for local government purposes." That is to say that in the election of the proposed Ulster provisional government women would be entitled to the franchise on identical qualifications with men, for in Ireland (unlike the rest of the British Isles) there is no difference between the register for Parliamentary and local government purposes, except that women are excluded from the former and are included in the latter.

It is possible that some women suffragists will not see at once the full significance of these declarations. They may say to themselves in the first place that Ulster is, after all, only one province of one part of the United Kingdom, and that therefore the Government of Ulster partakes more of the nature of local government such as is carried on by an ordinary County Council (for which women are already electors) than of national government such as is carried on at Westminster. This view rests upon the fallacy of supposing that the difference between the government of a country and municipal administration is one of size, whereas in reality it is one of kind. The proposed provisional government of Ulster intends to collect taxes and perform other functions of a genuine government, and is not, therefore, to be regarded as in the nature of a County Council.

Secondly, they may recall the fact that many organisations, in their early and struggling stages, welcome women into their ranks on honourable terms of equality, only to relegate them to obscure positions when the days of influence and prosperity arrive, and they may cite as an illustration the case of the Nationalist party of Ireland. The comparison does not, however, hold water, for in the present instance it is not a question of giving to women a place in an organisation agitating for reform, but of making to them a specific promise (which we refuse to believe could be broken) of actual franchise rights in the election of the Government itself.

Finally, it may be pointed out, with a view to minimising the importance of the decision, that the "provisional government of Ulster," even if it ever comes into being at all, will only be temporary, and will, in a very little while, either be broken up by a hostile British Government, or merged in a friendly one. Those who urge this view miss the essential point which is not that a comparatively small number of women in Ireland may (or may not) be called upon to exercise the franchise, but that an important section of the Unionist party, led by a responsible Unionist leader, stand committed to woman suffrage in a definite, practical, and concrete form.

Sir Edward Carson and his Irish party have put themselves right with women, where Mr. Asquith and Mr. Redmond have put themselves and their parties definitely wrong. This is a significant fact which cannot fail to have great influence upon the attitude of both the great parties in the future to the question of the right of women to vote for the Imperial Parliament. For the Unionist party it is the first step in the right direction. For the Liberals it is a grave warning that if they refuse to do their obvious and imperative duty, the day will come when it will be done by their opponents to the lasting disgrace of Liberalism, and to the immediate and grievous injury of the Liberal party.

THE PLIGHT OF THE VOTELESS MOTHER

By Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

We note that a Committee has been appointed to inquire into the allegation of malingering (especially in the case of women) on the part of claimants for the sickness benefit under the Insurance Act. We should have been glad to see the appointment upon that Committee of a woman doctor with wide hospital experience, in addition to the two able women already included. The inquiry, if honestly and thoroughly carried out, will bring to light the startling truth hitherto unrealised that the great majority of women of the working class are in a devitalised and chronically exhausted physical condition.

The proposed inquiry does not cover the whole problem, the ill-health of this politically ignored and inarticulate population. It touches only the fringe of it. Only four out of the eleven million of adult working women come under the operation of the Insurance Act. The great proportion of these four million workers are single women. The married women who labour in the home as wives and mothers are practically excluded from the scheme except in so far as the maternity benefit is concerned. Only those wives and mothers who are also industrial competitors in the labour market enter into the scope of the inquiry. And these are they who receive some remuneration, however pitiable, for their labour, possess some measure of economic independence, however meagre and impoverished their condition, and have some recognised claim upon the community in sickness. The investigation into their condition will serve as a rough index of the seriousness of the health problem as it affects married working women generally, but bad as their case will be found to be, the lot of millions of their married sisters is even worse.

Unpaid Labour and Enforced Sacrifice

Many sweeping allegations have been brought against the social and economic system under which we live at the present day. But the worst charge of all has never yet been formulated. The whole structure of the modern community is built up upon the crushed bodies of the working wives and mothers of the people. Exhausted by under-feeding, condemned to never-ending drudgery—dissociated from its reward of economic freedom and self-respect—paying their toll to the community both in the sweat of their brow and in the anguish of their motherhood, they are the modern counterpart of the unrecognised and unnamed slave populations, whose unpaid labour and enforced sacrifice ministered to the pride and power of the older civilisations, such as Egypt and Athens.

Of women who have given birth to even one child, an overwhelming majority would be found, upon investigation, to be suffering from painful and exhausting complaints due to neglect, overwork, and privation—serious and acute disablements which are taken for granted and accepted as a necessary part of the woman's burden, which are supposed to demand no radical medical treatment and careful nursing, and entitle her to no respite either from her heavy household tasks or from constantly recurrent child-bearing.

Year after year the working mother goes through her hard drudgery of daily toil, with pain and weariness which could be prevented, eating up her vitality and sapping her constitution, a tragic figure to whom none have given consideration or regard, till suddenly, as the result of a compulsory Insurance scheme, she emerges to the view of statesmen as an awkward problem, inconveniently upsetting their calculations and confounding their carefully arranged statistics.

The Hue and Cry of "Malingerer"

Thereupon the hasty generalisers are after her with the hue and cry of "Malingerer!" These critics would do well to pause and listen to the words of Sir John Collie on this matter, words which would be borne out by the testimony of all the women doctors who know by experience the extent and seriousness of this greatest of all health problems.

"Those who thoughtlessly assert that malingering is rampant and mainly confined to women," says Sir John Collie, "have lost sight of the necessity of having ample data before right conclusions can be drawn. Before the passing of the National Insurance Act there were thousands of women, many of them badly underpaid, constantly employed in the hard grind of daily toil, who were wholly unfit, and the passing of the Act was their emancipation, because it would ultimately entail their drawing permanently on the sickness benefit fund." That statement as to the general physical unfitness and exhaustion of working women due to grinding toil, and, it may be added, persistent under-feeding (amounting very often to semi-starvation), applies not only to those married women who are industrially employed, but also to the majority of married women who are the wives of working men and the mothers of families.

A State Oblivious of Its Debt

The bearing of fit children is the woman's most important work for the State. To none of its servants is the State so deeply in debt as to the mothers, who, at great cost to their health and comfort, keep up the supply of new citizens. Yet of no debt is the State as at present constituted more entirely oblivious.

For its soldiers, its sailors, its civil servants, and its politicians, the State provides salaries, honours, pensions, and, when necessary, as in the case of soldiers and sailors on active service, hospitals and medical treatment. For its mothers the State provides nothing but the recent maternity benefit of thirty shillings and the workhouse. It is content with a National Scheme of Sickness and Invalidity Insurance that leaves the mothers of the people the only uninsured class of the adult working population.

We affirm unhesitatingly that until the State pays salaries, honours, and pensions to mothers for performing the most important of all services to the community, it is bound by all considerations of right and just dealing to put medical treatment at their disposal and to provide assistance to them in sickness. This is the very least that it can do, and ought to do, in recognition of its unpaid obligations to these its most important ministers.

It is absurd to say that such a development of the Insurance scheme cannot be effected. The proposition has never been considered or discussed. Neither has the fact received recognition that the health of no section of the community is so important to the nation as the health of its mothers, both with regard to the present and the future welfare of the people.

Only the Mother who doesn't Count

But "the mother" has not yet been "discovered." The attention of the nation has been concentrated upon the working man, who has his own method of winning consideration from his representatives in Parliament; and of recent years "the child" (blessed noun that covers most fortunately both sexes!) has become a cult. It is only the mother who is of no account in the body politic, when it comes to a question of remedial legislation. She is the one member of the human family who except in terms of poetry and sentiment is regarded as a machine out of which endless drudgery and many children can be ground—a machine not worth the cost of repair or replenishment, to be thrown away when broken, upon the scrap heap.

So far from devising any scheme for making the nation's account square with the mother's, the price of every new social reform is wrung from them, though this fact has never been and is not at present generally recognised. The Insurance Act places a tax upon the mother's food and the wife's labour, and thus makes her working life harder, yet leaves her as ill-provided for as ever in sickness, invalidity, or premature old age. The Children Act left the mother unaided in her almost superhuman task of rearing healthy citizens; and simply devised new punishments and penalties for her. The Miners' Eight Hours' Act imposed indirectly new conditions of intolerable hardships and drudgery upon the miner's wife. The Act for raising the school age, together with the Act which makes the employment of children out of school hours illegal, have lengthened the duration and extent of her unremitting toil and intensified the chronic under-feeding which is one of the causes of her devitalised condition.

Between the Upper and the Nether Millstone

These and many other similar Acts necessary and right in themselves should have been balanced by ameliorative and compensating measures affecting the condition of those who are called upon to pay most heavily for them. And if women had any voice in the legislature or any power to secure attention to their needs from the representatives of the electorate, social "progress" would not have meant, as it does to-day, the grinding of the great mass of the womanhood of the country between the upper and the nether millstone.

"Nothing I know of, after years of close observation, is so effective in creating public opinion as the fear which statesmen have of the vote." Those are the words not of any woman Suffragist, but of a working man. They were recently addressed to an audience of men representing two and a half millions, and were accepted without dissent. This same spokesman of working men further described the vote as "the natural and only protection to man's inalienable rights" and "Aladdin's magic lamp" for securing all the demands of his sex and his class at the hands of the State.

For the sake of the great broken population in our midst, which includes the majority of mothers of the working class, women who are the natural guardians of the "race body" and the "race soul" must never rest until they have won for their sex "Aladdin's magic lamp." For the sake of those who replenish the life of the community at the cost of their own bodies, it is the solemn and imperative duty of women strenuously to oppose a Government that heaps burdens upon the bearers of the race while keeping them bound and gagged.

When women get the vote—as get it they will—they will put an end to the abandonment by the State of its mothers to sickness and ill-health, and in widowhood to destitution.

A "Votes for Women" Fellow who sells the paper in all weathers at Hemel Hempstead.

"VOTES FOR WOMEN" FELLOWSHIP

Hon. Sec.: Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

Colours: Purple, White and Red. Motto: "Come on! Hold on! Fight on!"

SPECIAL LETTER TO MEMBERS OF THE FELLOWSHIP FROM MRS. PETHICK LAWRENCE

Dear Fellow-workers and Friends,—In last week's issue of the Paper all particulars respecting our Reunion and Public Meeting in the Kingsway Hall were announced for the first time. I now ask you all, individually, to help to make that meeting a complete success, and a splendid send-off for our Autumn and Winter Campaign. I ask for your help in three separate and distinct forms of service. First, will you volunteer your assistance in filling that great hall which seats over 2,000 people? Remember that our organisation is very young. It is but six months ago that we had our first meeting, which was our christening party. We quickly outgrew the Suffolk Galleries, and went to the Portman Rooms. Now we have outgrown the Portman Rooms, but the Kingsway Hall is a big jump all at once. I know too much about organisation not to realise that no great meeting organises itself—or succeeds merely by the fact of being advertised. A successful meeting means work—concentrated, devoted work on the part of great numbers of individuals. I want you to write to me at once offering to dispose of tickets. I want you each to take at least half a dozen to begin with, and then try to make it a dozen. And because the time before us is necessarily so short, and our staff is not so great just at present as it will be very soon, I want you, on this special occasion, to purchase these tickets outright, so that once we have disposed of them from Red Lion Court, we have no further anxiety about them. Will you also take and distribute a number of handbills. A few handbills distributed personally, and with a word or two of information and persuasion, are worth hundreds distributed mechanically. I ask men and women Fellows in London and in the Provinces to rally with good will and good heart to this task.

Bring the Unconverted!

Now the second piece of service is this. Will you try to bring to that meeting men and women who are not at present within the ranks of the Suffrage Movement. We want a great rally of Fellows and keen suffragists, of course. They supply the spirit and the enthusiasm of the meeting. Besides, they have a special part to play, as I shall explain later on. But there is room for the unconverted too. And, after all, the Fellowship exists mainly for the unconverted. The Bishop of Kensington will be one of the speakers. This meeting will be the occasion of his first public pronouncement on the Votes for Women question. There are many churchmen and churchwomen who have not grasped the significance of this Movement. They would listen more readily to a representative of the Church, with so remarkable a record of service, than they would to you and me. Bring them. Make up a party and come together. We want to gain new Fellows, and new co-workers, as the result of the meeting.

Now comes the third service which, in the name of the Fellowship, I ask of every man and woman, according to their power of rendering it.

At this great meeting, inaugurating a new year of our campaign, I want to raise a really adequate Campaign Fund. The Fellowship has been growing very rapidly and very regularly, and it is absolutely necessary now to take offices, and considerably to increase our staff. Fellows throughout the country are now organising themselves into local groups for active and efficient work, and they are asking for a visiting organiser as a link between them and the headquarters of the Fellowship in London. New secretaries must be engaged to deal with the increasing business, and a considerable sum will need to be expended.

Wanted—£3,000 a Year

The strength of the Fellowship is rather in voluntary service than in complex organisation. But for the absolute necessary organisation and development of the Fellowship, and for the upkeep of our paper, we need a sum of at least £3,000 a year. This sum I confidently look to the Fellows to raise. I am sure it will be forthcoming. I want you to help in producing quite a large share of that total on October 16. I have sent a promise card to every Fellow in London and in the country. Will you let the Fellowship receive a gift from you, every one—as large a gift as by self-denial you can spare to our common purpose and work. Some large sums as well as many small ones are necessary to swell a sum into four figures. But we have never been afraid of large sums and large sacrifices. Let us have a great and inspiring collection in the Kingsway Hall—a financial achievement that will be a sign and symbol of the success of the extended campaign which we are about to undertake in the name of the Fellowship. There is so much work for us to do. Never were the people so eager to hear, so ready to understand our movement, or so willing to give us their support. Think over and decide what you, individually, can do to help forward the Cause in the three ways that I have laid before you, and let me know as quickly as you can.—Yours in the Fellowship,

Emmeline Pethick Lawrence.

TICKETS FOR THE MEETING ON OCTOBER 16

The following are the particulars of the public meeting which is being held in the Kingsway Hall by the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship on Thursday evening, October 16, at 8 p.m. The speakers will be Mrs. Pethick Lawrence (in the chair), the Bishop of Kensington, Miss Evelyn Sharp, and Mr. Pethick Lawrence.

Tickets for the meeting are now ready and can be obtained from the Ticket Secretary VOTES FOR WOMEN, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C., as follows:—Front rows of central stalls, numbered and reserved, 2s. 6d. each; stalls and front rows of balcony, numbered and reserved, 1s. each; unreserved stalls and balony, 6d. each.

Fellows are invited to purchase from the ticket secretary, at an early date, tickets for themselves, and additional tickets for disposal among their friends and aquaintances. They are also invited to obtain from the ticket secretary handbills of the meeting for circulation by post or otherwise among those likely to be interested (not for street distribution).

PAPER-SELLING REPORT

Holiday-makers are returning every day, and we are already beginning to fill up vacant spaces for the autumn work. Yet another Fellow has volunteered to sell for an hour on her way home from business. Surely those who have more leisure time than she has will give some of it? We want more helpers every day of the week, and throughout each day, in order that as one seller leaves her post another may take it up, and buyers may always be able to get VOTES FOR WOMEN at recognised spots in the London streets.

We ask Fellows not to forget the Church Congress in Southampton, commencing next week, and the march of the "Qui Vive Corps" there on October 2.

Those who will attend and sell our paper at these functions are asked to send in their names without delay to the office, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

FELLOWSHIP FUND SUBSCRIPTIONS

(To Sept. 13, 1913)

	£	s.	d.
Subscriptions already acknowledged	846	10	7
Miss K. Wing	0	2	6
Miss Agnes Murphy	0	5	0
Miss Bessie Morris..	0	1	2
The Hon. Mrs. Stephen Coleridge	0	1	0
Dr. and Mrs. N. L. Howison	0	2	0
Dr. and Mrs. A. Egdahl	0	2	0
Mr. and Mrs. A. C. Anderson	0	2	0
Mr. and Mrs. W. J. Nott	0	2	0
Mr. and Mrs. F. Miner.....	0	2	0
Mr. and Mrs. S. Knapp	0	2	0
Raymond Knapp Esq., ...	0	1	0
Mrs. K. T. Weber ..	0	1	0
Mrs. S. Ticknor	0	1	0
Mrs. L. Harvey	0	1	0
Mrs. T. Hoagland ..	0	1	0
Miss L. Shellhouse..	0	1	0
Mrs. E. J. Whereatt	0	1	0
Mrs. F. G. Kopp....	0	1	0
Mr. and Mrs. H. Knapp	0	2	0
Dr. Kate Kelsey	0	1	0
Miss N. B. Stack (extra on VOTES)	0	0	9
Miss M. Paton.....	0	2	0
Miss May Carter....	0	1	0
Mrs. E. Baron.....	0	1	0
Per Miss Boulting ..	0	2	6
Miss Lumley	0	2	0
Miss E. M. Vincent	0	5	6
Mrs. Masters (extra on VOTES)	0	0	5
Total.....	£848	18	5

HOW A MAN SELLS PAPERS

By Denis E Howell

I had very peculiar feelings when I first commenced selling VOTES FOR WOMEN and the *Suffragette*. I felt, indeed, extremely conspicuous. But I soon began to feel all right, for I had not been standing long before two men came along and bought two copies. Then unpleasant and humorous remarks were addressed to me, some by people who were afraid I should hear them, and others by people who meant that I should hear them.

One woman would like to burn me. "There's a man Suffragette! I never saw one before!" This made me wonder in what way I was different from other men.

The papers are selling very well, being bought by friends and people who seem as if they really want to know more about the Woman's Movement. Here is a pleasant-looking minister coming along, and I feel sure he will have a copy, so I offer him VOTES FOR WOMEN.

"It's a great pity you have nothing better to do," he says, very sharply, and walks away.

A "nut," with his hair plastered down on his head, passes by with a grin on his face and then comes back and buys a copy of VOTES. Without even glancing at the cartoon, he tears it in four pieces, and flings it down at my feet. A feeling rises within me, but I let it die. The same fate happens to three copies of the *Suffragette*. All these petty remarks and incidents only make me more determined to come and sell every week.

Simply by standing in the street and holding out the papers I made nearly every person say "Votes for Women"; and that is just what we want; only we want hundreds and thousands of people to shout "Votes for Women," not only with their voices, but with the heart and soul of them.

More *men* are wanted to show their sympathy in a practical way with the Woman's Suffrage Movement. If you cannot be militant, then work for the cause by selling papers and by other constitutional methods. Let the people see there are some real manly men supporting the women in their fight for common justice—men to whom it makes not the slightest difference if they are laughed at. If people sneer at you, look them straight in the face, and let them know that you are serious!

Men!—Come on! Hold on and fight on!

The woman's cause is man's! They rise or sink
Together, dwarfed or godlike, bond or free.
If she be small, slight natured, miserable,
How shall men grow?

THE LAND OF WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE.

GO TO THE

ISLE OF MAN

FOR AN

IDEAL AUTUMN HOLIDAY.

September Statistics show over 8 hours BRIGHT SUNSHINE A DAY.

A Restful Holiday with plenty of Amusement amid Magnificent Scenery.

BEAUTIFUL GUIDES FREE, together with Accommodation Lists, &c., from A. W. V. Tongue, 27, Imperial Buildings, Ludgate Circus, E.C.

COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

Jealous Husband Acquitted.

The *Pall Mall Gazette* (September 11) reports the case of John Littleton, charged before Wimbledon magistrates with shooting at his wife with a rifle. For the defence it was alleged that letters had been found written by the wife to a young man. The wife was admonished, and the Chairman said no jury would convict. *Prisoner was acquitted.*

At the Clerkenwell Sessions last week, before Mr. Robert Wallace, K.C., Gilbert Webb was charged with inflicting grievous bodily harm on his wife. She was so terrified that she jumped out of the window. *Prisoner was acquitted.*

Jealous Wife Sentenced

The *Standard* (September 11) reports case of Florence Kimber, charged before the Common Serjeant at the Old Bailey with attempting to cut her husband's throat. Police-sergeant said she was hard-working, and nothing was known against her. The man drank, gambled, and neglected his wife; she said she was aggravated because he went out with other women; also he had locked her out of the house. Found guilty "under great provocation." Sentence: *3 months' hard labour.*

For Assault on a Little Girl

The *Manchester Guardian* (September 15) reports case of Charles Waldron, charged at the Oldham Police Court last Saturday with indecently assaulting two little girls, aged eight and ten, in the Art Gallery. The Chairman said they could have sent him to prison, but decided to inflict *a fine of £3 and costs in each case.*

For Stealing 12s. 6d.

The *Daily Citizen* (September 11) reports case of Edith Taylor, a domestic servant, charged at Wimbledon Police Court with obtaining 12s. 6d. on false pretences from Lady Fox. It was stated that there were previous convictions, and that she was continually pestered by some scoundrel for money. Sentence: *6 months' imprisonment.*

For Inflicting Grievous Bodily Harm

At the Clerkenwell Sessions last week before Mr. Wallace, K.C., Frederick Roberts was charged with inflicting grievous bodily harm on his wife. Sentence: *Bound over in £5.*

For Begging

At the same Sessions, before Mr. Spokes, Annie Lewis, a charwoman, was charged with begging. Sentence: *9 months' imprisonment.*

The above comparison of punishments emphasises afresh the savage leniency, if we may be allowed the expression, that is shown in the courts to men convicted of indecent or common assault upon women and little girls, while sentences of the severest character are passed upon women convicted of petty theft, begging, or soliciting.

The Price of Little Girls

The Oldham case (which is to be compared with the two similar cases at Bolton and Attercliffe, reported in our issue of September 5) provoked the following piece of satire, contained in a letter to the Editor of the *Manchester Guardian*, which appeared in that paper last Tuesday:—

Sir,—It seems to me that the price of little girls is being put up with unfair suddenness. I see that a poor young man has been charged £3 each for an assault on little girls. The usual price is 30s., or perhaps a month in prison, and the poor fellow would not expect to pay such a savage fine. Who knows if he can afford it or not? It may be quite a long time before he can afford another £3.

Mr. Dixon, the chairman of the Bench, must have an undue notion of the importance of little girls. He is confusing them with property. We have the word of another magistrate that this sort of crime may be committed by the best of men without its leaving a stain on his character. Why, then, come down on this poor man so severely?—Yours, &c.,

HILDA C. ADSHEAD.

Convenient Acquittals

Equally serious with the light sentences passed upon men who ruin little girls is the number of acquittals in such cases, which are rarely reported in the newspapers.

Unconvincing Acquittal of a Police Constable

An extremely unconvincing acquittal was that of a police-constable charged before the Common Serjeant at the Old Bailey on September 11 with criminally assaulting a girl of fourteen, daughter of the woman with whom he lodged. It was proved in cross-examination that the child's mother was absent from the house on the three days when the assaults were said to have been committed; the date of these was also supported by medical evidence. The defending counsel introduced hearsay evidence, which was not disallowed by the judge, nor did the judge stop a counter-accusation brought against the girl, which he afterwards admitted was a side issue. After the luncheon interval, the judge made the following remarkable statement:—

"I do not see how you can ask the jury to convict this man. Although not a rule of law, it is a rule of practice, for judges not to convict in cases of this kind unless there is some corroborative evidence implicating the accused. There is none in this case." (To prosecuting counsel) "Do you think there is any?" Prosecuting counsel, Mr. Bodkin, having said "No," the judge then said to the jury: "The prosecuting counsel agrees there is no corroborative evidence. I must ask you to find that this case is not sufficiently proved."

The Jury "Not Satisfied"

The jury found accordingly, but stated that they were not satisfied to acquit him. Perhaps they had in their mind the number of wretched women they had helped to send to three and six months' hard labour for soliciting, on no more corroborative evidence than the word of a police constable! Or had any of them sat on a jury while women suffragists were sentenced to hard labour and penal servitude for offences against property alone, committed in order to draw attention to the political helplessness of women?

WHY BAIL FOR FATHER ONLY?

We have often had occasion to comment on the greater severity shown to mothers than to fathers in cases of cruelty or neglect of children, although the law does not admit that the married mother is the responsible parent. It is therefore pleasing to find a Bench of magistrates at last insisting on equal treatment for man and wife, though only in the matter of bail. At the Guildhall last Tuesday a man and his wife were brought up and remanded on a charge of the manslaughter of their child, four months old, through starvation and neglect. The report in the *Manchester Guardian* adds:

"Mr. Anderson asked for bail for the man only, but the Bench said that it would be undesirable to make a distinction, and granted bail both for the man and his wife."

But why did Mr. Anderson make the distinction?

FOR WHAT DO WE PAY THE POLICE?

An example of the way in which the police "protect" women, who by their payment of police rate are just as much the employers of the police as men, is to be found in the following extract from the *Southend Standard*:—

"At Southend Borough Sessions on Tuesday before J. Francis (in the chair), J. Wm. Burrows, and R. H. Wright, Esqrs., over a hundred rate-defaulters were dealt with. One of the number, Mrs. Rosina Sky, of Cliff Town Road, Southend, a local sympathiser in the feminist movement, was summoned for the non-payment of 16s., a portion of the poor rate.

"She admitted it was due, and said she would pay under protest. Addressing the Bench, she said she pointed out that her objection was based on the ground that on two occasions she had been denied police protection.

"'I deducted the 16s.,' said Mrs. Sky, 'as a portion of the police rate. On February 26, I was assaulted at Leigh; the police were sent for, and simply looked on, and did not protect me. I came to the Superintendent and complained, and he asked me to let him know at any time if meetings were held in Southend. On May 3, I sent round to say we were having a meeting outside the Technical Schools, and he sent a message that he would not be responsible. So that is my reason for appearing here. I have made my protest and will pay.'"

This is the fourth year in which Mrs. Sky has refused to pay her Imperial Taxes.

John Pound & Co.

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FITTED DRESSING CASES, TRUNKS AND BAGS

— AND —

TRAVELLING GOODS OF EVERY DESCRIPTION.

SPLENDID VALUE

Lady's Blouse or Week-End Case, made of best ROLLED HIDE, with pockets to carry Hair Brushes, etc.

16 ins.	18 ins.	20 ins.	22 ins.
30/-	34/-	38/-	42/-

Write for Catalogue.

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211, Regent Street, W. 67, Piccadilly, W.

177, 178, Tottenham Court Rd. 243, Brompton Rd., S.W.

81, 82, 83, 84, LEADENHALL ST., E.C.

FOLLOWERS OF HAMPDEN

MRS. HARVEY

It may, perhaps, interest our readers to know the kind of woman whom the Government imprison for refusing, on principle, to assist in the administration of a system of taxation without representation.

As is now widely known, Mrs. Harvey of Brackenhill, Bromley, Kent, was, on July 21, sentenced to one month's imprisonment, and on July 28 to another month for refusal to pay the Insurance Act dues or to take out a licence for her gardener; these sentences were put into force on September 1.

Life in India

Mrs. Harvey spent a good many years of her early married life in India, where she was looked upon with the very greatest regard by the natives. She had never taken a medical degree, but she had a good deal of medical knowledge, and this, coupled with much common sense, enabled her to effect numberless cures. Indeed, natives came to her from great distances to beg her to treat their ailments, and she was regarded as a kind of magician.

Work for Children

For the past thirteen years she has lived in England, during the last five of them at Bromley. Mrs. Harvey has always taken a special interest in children, and since her return to England has done much for the nation's less fortunate girls and boys. She has, for instance, been closely connected with the Bridge of Hope Mission, and now helps Mrs. Despard with her clinic in Nine Elms. At this she holds a class twice weekly for remedial exercises for consumptively inclined children.

As a Suffragist

Mrs. Harvey is probably better known in her work for the Suffrage than in her other fields of activity. Besides being particularly interested in the International aspect of the movement, Mrs. Harvey is a most courageous tax resister, as is, of course, proved by her present imprisonment. Time after time she has refused payment of taxes and has been summoned, fined, and distrained upon in consequence. She has barricaded her house and grounds against the tax-collector, and lived in a state of constant siege; indeed, this is the condition of her home at the present moment, while last year she made a record resistance of this kind, which continued from May to December.

POPULAR INDIGNATION

The indignation at her imprisonment is widespread, and many protest meetings are being held.

On Saturday last a successful demonstration was held under the auspices of the Women's Freedom League in Trafalgar Square, when the speakers included Mrs. Despard, Mr. H. W. Nevinson, Mr. John Scurr, and Mrs. Cobden Sanderson, and a resolution was carried protesting "with indignation against the vindictive sentences passed on voteless women, and especially that on Mrs. Harvey." The Tax Resistance League and the Freedom League are holding meetings in the Market Square, Bromley, on Monday and Wednesday evenings.

MISS SARGANT AS TAX RESISTER

"I think the want of the franchise is an obstacle in every branch of woman's work," said Miss Sargant (President of the Botany Section at the British Association) to a representative of the *Daily Telegraph*. While not thinking it affected women particularly in science, she went on to say that "The absence of the vote is a slur upon woman, and, as such, it affects every woman. I think it lies deeper, and is at the root of more disability than would appear at first sight."

Miss Sargant is a tax-resister, and there has been a distraint made upon her property this year for the non-payment of taxes.

A SCOTTISH TAX RESISTER

On Tuesday in last week Dr. Grace Cadell, of 145, Leith Walk, Leith, was charged under the Revenue Act in the Midlothian Justice of the Peace Court. The Clerk of Court read a letter from Dr. Cadell, dated from London, stating that as she was not a person in the eyes of the law, it was impossible for her to appear personally.

Evidence was given that Dr. Cadell kept two carriages. She had only taken out a licence for one, and refused to take out another; a fine of £2 was imposed, in default, ten days' imprisonment. It was also stated that she had armorial bearings on both carriages, and had taken out licences for these for many years, but now refused to do so. She was fined £3 3s. or ten days.

At the Edinburgh Sheriff Summary Court, on the same day, charges were brought against her for non-payment of the National Insurance Tax on behalf of her cook, nurse, parlourmaid, and coachman. Dr. Cadell was not present, and the case was adjourned till September 26.

VOTES FOR DUTCH WOMEN

According to a Reuter telegram, at the opening of the Dutch States Senate last Tuesday the Speech from the Throne stated that a Bill for revising the Constitution in such a way as to extend the franchise to all adult men (with certain exceptions), and to remove the constitutional obstacles against the granting of the suffrage to women, would be prepared without delay.

Although this means that woman suffrage has for the first time been actually mentioned in the Queen's Speech, it must not be interpreted as a definite Government pledge to give the women of Holland the vote. To remove the present constitutional obstacles against the enfranchisement of women is merely to pave the way for the inclusion in the Government Bill of a clause giving votes to women, a clause that may or may not be ultimately included. In fact, we gather that the Dutch Suffragists, supposing the obstacles be removed, will then be in much the same position as Suffragists in England would have been had Sir Edward Grey's amendment to delete the word "male" from the Reform Bill of 1913 been put to the vote and carried.

MUNICIPAL VOTES FOR ITALIAN WOMEN

A telegram from Rome states that the Italian Minister of Justice is preparing a measure to give women municipal rights on an equality with men. The details of the measure are not at present known, but these will be explained in the Minister's forthcoming electoral address, and it is expected that the Bill will be introduced into the Chamber in November.

IN THE REVISION COURTS

A discussion bearing upon the position in the home of the working-class widow was raised in the Hull Revision Court on September 10, when eighteen claims were submitted by the Conservative agent, by which it was sought to substitute on the lists the son for the mother where the latter had formerly been the rate-paying tenant. In advocating the change, the Conservative agent said that as the son was responsible for the upkeep of the home, it was suggested that the mother should sacrifice her rights as tenant, in order that he should get his vote.

In answer to this, some interesting remarks were made. The Assistant Overseer said it was the experience of his department that it was generally the mothers who kept the sons, and not the sons who kept the mothers, in this class of tenants. The mothers, in many instances, he said, worked at the wash-tub.

The Revising Barrister said: "I cannot understand anybody wanting to pay rates, but I can understand anyone wanting political power." He also said emphatically that he must be assured that these women knew what rights they were giving up, because "nowadays women were very jealous over their rights." He finally refused to allow the claims until he had met the women and heard what they had to say.

A Suffragist's Claim Struck Off

At Newcastle, the Revising Barrister said suddenly: "Across this claim is written 'Votes for Women!' I cannot allow it!" So, comments the *Evening Mail*, "amid the smiles of the various political agents, the claim of this daring woman suffragist—pushing the demands of the cause right into the Revision Court itself—was ruthlessly struck out."

CHURCHMEN'S PETITION TO THE HOUSE OF COMMONS

The following petition has been drawn up by the Church League for Women's Suffrage, and will be presented to the House of Commons, bearing the signatures of Bishops and clergy only, when Parliament reassembles:—

"To the Honourable the Commons of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland in Parliament assembled:

"The humble Petition of the undersigned Bishops and Clergy of the Churches of England and Ireland and of the Scottish Episcopal Church sheweth:

"1. That the refusal to women in a democratic country of any share in the Parliamentary Franchise is fundamentally unjust; strangely anomalous in view of the public duties which they have been rightly encouraged to undertake and which they admirably fill; and calculated to obscure the spiritual equality of the sexes which is an essential tenet of the Christian Faith.

"2. That the Empire is thereby deprived of valuable forces which, if experience elsewhere may guide our judgment, would operate in favour of much-needed moral and social reform.

"3. That all political parties repeatedly assert large measures of reform to be long overdue; and that it would be disastrous to commence such reforms without giving to women a voice in concerns about which they have admittedly expert knowledge.

"That your Honourable House has repeatedly expressed itself in favour of conferring the Parliamentary Franchise on duly qualified women.

"Your Petitioners therefore pray, &c., &c."

Full particulars, together with copies of the above Petitions and forms for signatures, may be obtained by writing to the Petition Secretary, C.L.W.S. office, 6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C. It is hoped that all sympathisers will assist in obtaining signatures of Bishops and clergy.

IN THE PRESS

THE TRADE UNION RESOLUTION

Fortunately, J. Battle, who, by the way, had previously acknowledged himself a Liberal, did the women's cause good service—by again opposing it. "Women have not the brain capacity of men," he announced. The Congress was so impressed that it accepted the resolution with only six dissentients! All the Labour forces are thus ranged on the side of woman suffrage, not merely theoretically, but as an issue of practical politics in relation to other electoral reforms. The I.L.P. has declared its opposition to all Franchise Bills and Registration Bills alike which overlook the citizenship rights of women. The Labour Party has announced its intention of opposing any Franchise Bill which does not include the enfranchisement of women. The Trade Union Congress has asserted that the Plural Voting Bill is no substitute for a measure enfranchising women. In this realisation by Labour of the justice and importance of the women's claim lies one of the most hopeful and significant signs of the times. — **Labour Leader.**

THE OTHER POINT OF VIEW

The Labour party in the House of Commons gets worse and worse in its attitude towards women. Not satisfied with its pitiable subservience to the Liberal Government in regard to one of the main planks of the Labour party, Woman Suffrage, it now opposes the payment to mothers of the 30s. maternity benefit under the Insurance Act. The proposal is described as "an insult to 99 out of every 100 husbands." What a difference the vote makes! No one in this country, not even the wildest Lloyd Georgeite, ever dreamt of suggesting that the husband should get the maternity allowance. Had one done so, we are quite certain our most hidebound Conservatives would have denounced the suggestion as "an insult to 100 out of every 99 wives!"—**The Woman Voter (Melbourne).**

WHY CURIOUS?

The Church Congress will discuss many problems of social importance, and will be addressed on these subjects by speakers who are qualified to deal with them. . . . But, curiously enough, the chief and dominating subject of discussion will be the great question of the day, "Votes for Women." A pitched battle, says the *Evening Standard*, is expected on this dangerous topic, and many a country rectory and vicarage is just now the scene of preliminary skirmishes on female suffrage. A number of the clergy are in favour of woman suffrage, and violently oppose the "Cat and Mouse" Act. It is they who will open fire at the congress, and the battle promises to be prolonged and vigorous. It is even feared that some of the militants will themselves penetrate into the congress, and take an active part in the debate, if they do not take complete control of it. — **Nottingham Daily Express.**

THE ONLY COUNTRY!

It is difficult for Britons to face the world without a blush these days of moral and political debacle. England has sounded depths of ignominy, unparalleled in their way, in modern history, since she passed under the Asquithian regime. She is the only country that ever goaded her own women into war, the only country where mothers, wives, and sisters are set upon by incited mobs, discriminated against by Star Chamber law, or old Plantagenet statutes revived. — **Canterbury Times (N.Z.).**

Chapter 5

Steam is Necessary for Engines

—there is no need for it in the wash-house.

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SUFFRAGISTS WHO ARE NOW IN PRISON

Name.	Date of Conviction.	Sentence.	Place of Imprisonment.
Miss Annie Bell*	(1) April 22	21 days	Holloway
,,	(2) July 26	21 days	,,
,,	(3) Sept. 15	2 months' h.l.	,,
Mr. Donald McEwan	May 19	9 months	Calton Gaol, Edinburgh
Miss Lake*	June 17	6 months	Warwick
Mr. John Manders	Aug. 11	2 months' h.l.	Pentonville
Mrs. Harvey	Sept. 1	2 months	Holloway
Miss Casey	(On Remand)	—	Bradford

* Re-arrested under Cat and Mouse Act.

IN THE COURTS

Saturday, September 13.—At Bradford, charged with firing the contents of a letter-box, Mrs. Holton and Miss Casey; remanded till to-day (Friday), Mrs. Holton allowed bail.

Monday, September 15.—At Bow Street Police Court, charged with throwing a hammer through a Home Office window, Miss Annie Bell, two months' hard labour.

REVOLUTIONARY ACTIONS

The following incidents have been attributed in the Press to Suffragists during the week:—

Thursday, September 11. — Unoccupied house at Cheam, Surrey, badly damaged by fire.

Bowling green of South Croydon Club badly damaged.

Friday, September 12.—Contents of three pillar-boxes destroyed at Bradford, considerable damage; two arrests.

Workmen's tools removed from new house at Woldingham.

Saturday, September 13.—Kenton Railway Station, on a small line between Newcastle and Ponteland, completely destroyed by fire; damage estimated at £1,000.

Tuesday, September 16.—Three greens on the Southwold golf links damaged by Suffragists.

Attempt to fire Penshurst Place, Tonbridge, seat of Lord De L'Isle.

MRS. PANKHURST

According to the New York correspondent of the *Times*, Mrs. Pankhurst (who is to sail for America from Havre on October 11) "will be detained at Ellis Island upon her arrival, and brought before a special board of inquiry. By the time Mrs. Pankhurst lands, the immigration officials will have received from the British Government her full police-court record. Some officials of the immigration service believe that she could be deported as an Anarchist. She will be questioned as to her views concerning orderly and civilised government."

The New York View

The newspapers in the United States do not seem to attach much importance to the rumour of detention. The *New York Times* does not expect the Federal authorities to interfere, though it fears that the precedent of allowing Mrs. Pankhurst to land may make it difficult in the future to keep out some really dangerous criminal. The *Sun* says frankly: "While the immigration authorities undoubtedly have a right to refuse her admission to the country, this would be unnecessary and inexpedient."

What American Suffragists Think

American Suffragists, says a special cable to the *London Budget*, are expressing the greatest indignation at the reported decision of the authorities to detain Mrs. Pankhurst on her arrival.

Mrs. Harriet M. Johnstone Wood, the Suffragist lawyer, says:—

"To refuse Mrs. Pankhurst entry would be to hold up America to scorn and ridicule. Mrs. Pankhurst is in the same class with our revolutionary heroes, with Washington, Jefferson, and Lincoln."

Miss Mary Coleman, also a lawyer, declares that if Mrs. Pankhurst is detained at Ellis Island she will secure her immediate release by a writ of habeas corpus.

The British View

The *Globe* says:—

"If Mr. McKenna does not know his duty to the community in the matter of Mrs. Pankhurst, it is clear that the New York authorities are determined to deal with the lady strictly according to the law. She may flout the Home Secretary in England, but her chances of getting round the immigration laws are not so rosy. With her full police record in their hands, the New York authorities should have little difficulty in deciding to deport her as an undesirable."

On the other hand, the *Western Mail* informs us:—

"This is amusing. Scotland Yard wishes it had seen the last of Mrs. Pankhurst, and so, without a doubt, does the Home Secretary—not to mention certain of his distinguished colleagues. Whether the American immigration authorities will reject the leader of the militants as an 'undesirable' is another question, but nothing will be done on this side to force their hands."

It is a good thing we do not depend upon the daily Press of any country for our suffrage information.

NEWS OF PRISONERS

Miss Annie Bell was released on September 13 for the fourth time under the Cat and Mouse Act. The same day she was re-arrested for breaking a window in the Home Office as a protest against the prison authorities keeping her clothes. On September 15 she was sentenced to two months' hard labour.

Mrs. Rigby was released for the fifth time under the Cat and Mouse Act on September 13.

Mrs. Baines, while out on licence for the third time under the Cat and Mouse Act, is now reported to have left Manchester for France. She was sentenced on May 5 to one month's imprisonment for obstructing and resisting the police, and on August 8 was committed for trial, with her husband and son, on a charge of causing an explosion in an empty train.

NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge
President: Mrs. Cecil Chapman

A very large and enthusiastic meeting, addressed by Mrs. Kerr and Miss McGowan, was held in Hyde Park last Sunday. At the close of the meeting, many amongst the audience, including a clergyman, gathered round the platform, eager to testify their sympathy with the cause. A number of both ladies and gentlemen asked for membership cards, expressing their desire to join the Society. And here we again appeal to London members and friends of the N.C.S. to come to these Sunday meetings in order to distribute membership cards and take down the names and addresses of sympathisers. Week after week, for many months, the seed has been, and is still being, sown. There is now a plentiful harvest; who will help to gather it?

WHITECHAPEL CAMPAIGN

Office: 136, Whitechapel Road
Station: St. Mary's, District Railway

Judging from the response to our appeal for help in this campaign, the large majority of our London members have not yet returned to town! Those who have responded are amongst the few who, whatever the season and pressure of private work may be, always find some time to give to the cause. Help of all kind is very badly needed—canvassing, bill-distributing, speaking. Most successful open-air meetings are held nightly in different parts of Sir Stuart Samuel's constituency, and indoor meetings for women only every afternoon at the office.

MEMBERS ON HOLIDAY are reminded that, though out of the "hurly-burly," much good work for the cause may be accomplished in a quiet way. There are the articles for the Christmas Sale to be made or bought, and the friends we see only on holiday to be induced to join our Society.

FUTURE MEETINGS

Thursday, September 18.—Whitechapel, New Road, 8 p.m. Mrs. Merivale Mayer, Miss Simeon.

Friday, September 19.—Whitechapel, Fulbourne Street, 8 p.m. Mrs. Kerr, Miss McGowan.

Sunday, September 21.—Hyde Park, noon. Mrs. Merivale Mayer, Miss McGowan.

Monday, September 22.—Whitechapel, Mansell Street, 8 p.m. Mrs. Merivale Mayer, Miss Goddard.

Tuesday, September 23.—Whitechapel, Jubilee Street, 8 p.m.

Wednesday, September 24.—Whitechapel, Mile End Waste, 8 p.m.

SATURDAY, OCTOBER 4, MASS MEETING, TOWER HILL.

THE NORTHERN MEN'S FEDERATION FOR WOMEN'S SUFFRAGE

The Northern Men's Federation is making considerable headway among the electors of the North, who are being asked to join the Federation and to help in the work of opposing Government candidates in the constituencies. In Edinburgh large open-air meetings have been held, and are being held, in the Meadows. These open-air meetings will lead up to the mass meeting to be held in the Synod Hall on November 14, which in its turn is to lead up to the Convention to be held by the Federation in London towards the end of the year.

The Glasgow Centre promises to be particularly strong. At the inaugurative meeting, many prominent citizens of weight and standing sent in their names as members, and their promises to work by every means available, and to use their votes as weapons against this or any other Government whose leader will not make women's suffrage a plank on the Party platform. As their energetic organiser, Mrs. Arncliffe-Sennett, puts it: "It is pretty certain that the time is near when no platform without this measure as a plank will be safe to stand on!"

A "FELLOWSHIP" MEETING

Mr. Laurence Housman made a fine speech at a drawing-room meeting held on September 2 at Heathfield, Ilkley, in connection with the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship. He spoke especially on the persecution that is always visited upon the reformer, and on women's freedom as the only sure means of fighting the social evil. Miss M. E. Thompson, who took the chair, explained the scope and meaning of the Fellowship, and eight new Fellows were enrolled.

PROPAGANDA AT THE PLAY

An interruption was caused by a Suffragist during the performance of Mr. Bernard Shaw's play, "Androcles and the Lion," at St. James's Theatre last Saturday night. At the moment when the Captain of the Guard says to the leading Christian: "Any person who perishes in the arena is not a martyr, but is committing suicide," a woman in the front row of the dress circle rose and exclaimed: "That is what McKenna says about Suffragists." From many parts of the house came remarks about Mr. McKenna, and others exhorting silence. After a brief pause the play proceeded.

BUCKINGHAM PALACE TAKING NO CHANCES!

According to the *Leicester Daily Post* an extra police guard has been placed on Buckingham Palace, where extensive alterations are now being made. "Rumours of Suffragette designs on the Palace," it says, "have been in circulation since the work began. Probably there is nothing whatever behind them, but the police are taking no risks, and the most elaborate precautions have been taken. Policemen are stationed at every gate of the Palace night and day, and no one is allowed to pass without a special permit. All the windows have been first boarded up, and then protected by bomb-proof plates, and both on the roof and in the yard there is a ceaseless patrol by detectives and firemen. No mishap, therefore, need be feared."

ANOTHER TAX ON MARRIAGE

A definite tax on marriage, openly imposed instead of secretly filched out of the pockets of married couples, as is done in this country (see last week's VOTES FOR WOMEN), has just been imposed on every young couple about to marry in Lippe-Detmold, the smallest of the German States. The amount varies from 50 pfennige to 5 marks, according to their position in life, and the proceeds are to go to a midwives' fund managed by the municipality.

WHO SUPPORTS THE CHILDREN?

We are glad to see that "Enid" of the *Referee* supports the theory long ago advocated in this paper by Mrs. Pethick Lawrence, that the home is not solely maintained by the husband because he contributes its financial support. "Those who regard marriage as a partnership," she says in last Sunday's *Referee*, "founded in the beginning upon mutual love and understanding are averse to the very word 'support' in so far as the wife is concerned. As for the children—well, it would really seem that the mother who bears them, nurses them, and gives them her personal attention during the days and nights and years of their long childhood certainly is contributing her partner share of work for them, while the father is not contributing more than his just half in supplying the money for their maintenance and education. Then, to the question, 'Who supports the children?' there can be but one reasonable and truthful answer. **The father and mother are both** engaged in supporting them, and this is as it should be."

COMING EVENTS

The Church League for Women's Suffrage will hold on Wednesday, September 24, at the Victoria Rooms, Southampton, in the afternoon at 2.30 p.m., a Sweated Industries Exhibition; in the evening, at 8 p.m., a Public Meeting. Speakers: The Earl of Lytton, the Right Rev. Bishop Powell, Miss Susan Lawrence, and Mrs. Cather.

The Women's Freedom League will recommence their weekly meetings at the Caxton Hall on September 24, at 3.30 p.m. Speakers: Mr. Laurence Housman and Miss Nina Boyle.

Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Mr. Henry Harben will speak in the Middlesbrough Town Hall on October 7 at 7.45 p.m., under the auspices of the Women's Freedom League. Chair: Mrs. Despard. Tickets: 2s., 1s., and 6d. Free seats.

The VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship and the Church League will hold a meeting at the Town Hall, Ilford, on October 14, at 8 p.m. Chairman: The Right Rev. Bishop Powell. Speakers: Mrs. Pethick Lawrence and Rev. F. M. Green. Tickets: 2s. to 3d., obtainable from Mrs. Crouch, 132, Wellesley Road, Ilford; Mrs. Whitten, 21, Coventry Road; Mrs. Prince, 5, Stanhope Gardens; the Hon. Sec., 51, Grosvenor Road; and Rev. Isherwood, 168, Browning Road, East Ham.

The VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship will hold a public meeting at the Kingsway Hall on Thursday, October 16. (For particulars see page 728.)

SUFFRAGE DIRECTORY

Actresses' Franchise League,
2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Artists' Suffrage League,
259, King's Road, S.W.

Australian and New Zealand Women Voters' Association,
C/o International Women's Franchise Club, 9, Grafton Street, W.

Catholic Women's Suffrage Society,
55, Berners Street, Oxford Street, W.

Church League for Women's Suffrage,
6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.

Civil Service Suffrage Society,
19, Sotheby Road, Highbury.

Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association,
48, Dover Street, W.

Federated Council of Women's Suffrage Societies,
14, St. James' Street, S.W.

Forward Cymric Suffrage Union,
53, Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W.

Free Church League for Women's Suffrage,
2, Holmbury View, Upper Clapton.

Friends' League for Women's Suffrage,
Mill Field, Street, Somerset.

Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society,
2, York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester.

International Woman Suffrage Alliance,
7, Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C.

International Women's Franchise Club,
9, Grafton Street, W.

Irish League for Woman Suffrage
The Union of the Four Provinces Club, 16, John Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Irishwomen's Franchise League,
Antient Concert Buildings, Gt. Brunswick St., Dublin.

Irishwomen's Reform League,
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association,
163, Rathgar Road, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation,
29, South Anne Street, Dublin.

Irishwomen's Suffrage Society,
27, Donegall Place, Belfast.

Jewish League for Woman Suffrage,
32, Hyde Park Gardens, W.

League of Justice,
2, Lyndale, Hampstead, N.W.

London Graduates' Union for Woman Suffrage,
Chester Gate, Ealing.

Marchers' Qui Vive Corps,
60, West Street, Horsham.

Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage,
34 and 35, Ludgate Chambers, Ludgate Hill, E.C.

Men's League for Woman Suffrage,
136, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.

Men's Political Union for Women's Enfranchisement,
13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.

Men's Society for Women's Rights,
25, Victoria Street, S.W.

Munster Women's Franchise League,
83, Grand Parade, Cork.

National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society,
5, John Dalton Street, Manchester.

National Political League,
Bank Buildings, 14, St. James' Street, S.W.

National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies,
14, Gt. Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.

New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage,
8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.

Northern Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage,
6, Wellington Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.

People's Suffrage Federation
31-2, Queen Anne's Chambers, Tothill St., S.W.

Scottish Churches League for Woman Suffrage,
11, Howe Street, Edinburgh.

Scottish Federation for Women's Suffrage,
Sunwick, Berwickshire, N.B.

Spiritual Militancy League,
46, Queen's Road, Bayswater, W.

Suffrage Atelier,
Office: 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
Studio: 6, Stanlake Villas, Shepherd's Bush, W.

Suffrage Club,
37, York Street, St. James', S.W.

Suffragist Churchwomen's Protest Committee,
21, Downside Crescent, Hampstead, N.W.

Votes for Women Fellowship,
4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

Women Sanitary Inspectors' Suffrage Society,
83, Sutherland Avenue, W.

Women's Freedom League,
1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.

Women's Silent Co-operation for Freedom,
10, Southfields Road, Eastbourne.

Women's Social and Political Union,
Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.

Women's Tax Resistance League,
10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.

Women Teachers' Franchise Union,
27, Murillo Road, Lee, S.E.

Women Writers' Suffrage League,
Gosden Buildings, Henrietta Street, W.C.

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